1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

618 Orcha. Ultimately the new colonies may spread, and they may
776 feel the need of clan-gods and petition the clan-priests of the areas from which they migrated to give them a son of the old clan-god; but meanwhile the majority of them get on quite well without him and his clan-gatherings, and find the Village Mother and village ceremonies quite enough for their needs. If in time they ask for a clan-god of their own, they are likely to get some additional name to distinguish them from the main section of their clan, and ultimately all mention of the original clan name will be omitted.

Special features of the Clan-god among the Bison-horn Marias

It was remarked on page 194 that for each clan of the Gonds of the British India districts bordering on Nagpur there is or was a *Pen-kara* or Holy Circle under a *saja* tree somewhere in the province. If he has not become detribalized, every Gond should visit this once a year with offerings, or at least should pay sacrificial fines there on the birth of a child, on being released from handcuffs, on readmission to the community after some social lapse, and so on; and there ultimately his soul should be brought after death, to be united to the clan Departed. The villages are there no longer the *bhum* of particular clans, and many clans and god-groups may be represented in one village. Members of the clans are scattered far and wide over the province, and in one Nagpur Gond village you may find representatives of clans with the *Pen-kara* of their gods at places so far apart as Berar, Chhindwara, Lanji or Chanda. Many have settled far from their *Pen-kara* for so many generations that the fatigue of the long journey has been avoided more and more by each new generation till in the end it has been given up, and many of the present time cannot even say where it is.

776 To this kind of attitude some of the Bison-horn Marias are
618 beginning to come. There are many clan-areas[1] in Bijapur and
615 Dantewara tahsils and in Kutru zamindari on both sides of the river Indrawati which, as indicated in the ethnic map on page 40, are peopled by clans once purely Hill Maria in language and culture, but now modified in both by contact either with Bison-horn Maria

[1] Examples are Chikatraj Pen of Kutru, the god of the Gota clan of Kutru, Borje, Bhirabhatti, Pillur, Sappimarka, Kakler, Gattapalli, Mendri, Udru villages; Kuwo-Gundo Pen, god of the Majje and Wadde clans of Bodametta, Kodepalli, Majje-Mendri, Kungler, Madhepar, Dudepalli, and Rengawaya in Kutru zamindari and of Kounde (where the god is kept and the clan-priest lives) and other villages in Chanda District; Wachami Mo'itto Pen, of Markanar in Kutru zamindari, god of the Wachami clan of Markanar, Irkapal, Karkelli, Kumharmeta and Bodeli in Kutru Zamindari and some adjacent Wachami clan villages in Ahiri zamindari; Wange Muri Pen, of Dhanora in Bijapur tahsil, god of the Kuriyami clan of several villages around Dhanora and Thoinar and Pharsegarh sub-zamindaris of Kutru.

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AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

or with Doria neighbours. The clearest sign these retain of their Hill Maria origin is the retention of separate clan-areas, clan-gods and *modul-maddai* clan-priests for each large clan (*pari* or *katta*) or pair or trio of closely related clans, as distinct from the Bison-horn Maria institution of one *pen* or clan-god for each of the five groups of clans or phratries (*tarr* or *kutmam*) and every clan (*katta*) included in it, without any fixed phratry-area. On the other hand, each village in the true Bison-horn tracts is said to be the *bhum* of the clan (*katta*) of the *perma* who originally founded it, and, as it is the *bhum* of his clan, he alone can officiate for the village at the ceremonies and sacrifices before the Village Mother, the Dongar Deo, Kodo Deo, Bhu-deo and Bhu-Devi, and the other forms under which the Earth is worshipped at the different agricultural ceremonies.

The Bison-horn country is extensive and, compared to the Hill Maria country, well populated. The villages forming the *bhum* of even individual *katta* clans may be miles apart, while a village that is the *bhum* of a clan in phratry A may be surrounded by villages that are the *bhum* of clans in phratries B, C, D and E for miles before there is another village of a clan of phratry A. Further, though a village may be the *bhum* of the *perma's* clan, he may easily have only a few other householders of his clan in the village, but several of other kindred and affine clans. At Aranpur, most members of the big and small Marvi, the Hemla and the Oyami clans, all of which are included in the Marvi phratry, did not know the name of the clan-god of their phratry, but suggested vaguely that his *pen-rawar* might be in the Abujhmar hills or in Padar-raj, their name for the plateau around Jagdalpur. Some knew that the god's name was Handa Kosa Pen, and a few said that his *pen-rawar* was at Killepal, nearly sixty miles away, where the great western road from Jagdalpur to Bhopalpatnam approaches the passes descending to the Dantewara valley. At Killepal, however, I had not been shown Handa Kosa Pen; the village is the *bhum* of the Kuhrami clan, which gives its name to the Kuhrami phratry, and the clan members stated that they had no *pen-rawar* of their clan at Killepal, but that Hermraj Pen, their god, was, they had heard, in some village near Orcha in the Abujhmar hills. It was often agreed that a Maria should visit his Pen or clan-god every year in Aghan or Pand month (November-December) and offer a pig or a cock to the god at this annual *pen-jatra* or festival of the *pen*. At Aranpur a few of the older men said that they had long ago visited the Marvi clan-god Handa Kosa Pen at Killepal in their youth, but in recent years no one seemed to have been near. It was agreed that certain social offences could only be expiated by a visit and penal offering to the clan-god.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

776 614 615 The elders of the villages can actually often give the names of each of the gods whom they say that each of the five Bison-horn phratries worships: the Markami phratry worships Harma Pen; the Kuhrami phratry give varying names for their god, Hemraj Pen, Perambhoi (the name applied by the Dorlas to their corresponding Perambhoi phratry) or Banian Muttai; the Kawasi phratry worships Babo Herma Pen; the Marvi phratry Handa Kosa Pen; and the Sodi phratry Tul-Muttai Pen, whose *pen-rawar* is at Kamkanar in the Gangalur *pargana* in Bijapur tahsil, where Sodi Harma the *modul-waddai*, was regarded as the headman of all the surrounding Bison-horn villages. But other names are also given, such as Hirangraj, Hingaraj and Belraj for the Kartami clan, Hirmaraj for the Kawasi, Sodi, Markami and Marvi clans, and Hing-hunga and Mundaraj for the Beko and Kalmu clans. I have used the word 'clan' advisedly, because in this list some gods are shared by clans belonging to different phratries; thus Hirmaraj is shared by the Markami and Kartami clans of the Markami phratry and by the Sodi and Marvi clans of the Sodi and Marvi phratries, while of the worshippers of Hing-hunga and Mundaraj the Beko clan belongs to the Kuhrami phratry and the Kalmu clan to the Markami. Use Modia Pen of Ghotpal is restricted to the Lekami clan of that and surrounding villages, which is now considered part of the Kuhrami phratry. Other local log-gods will be found in the heart of the Bison-horn country at such places as Dugeli; some may be the true *pen-rawars* of the phratries, but I have been unable to verify this.

614 615 173 The whole position is, it must be admitted, somewhat confused, but it would be wrong to expect to systematize it. The same confusion will be found again over the totems of the phratries and clans; there are two phratries with the tortoise as totem, and inside the same phratry will be found clans with totems of their own or the totem of other phratries, or no totem at all. The traditions of the Bison-horn Marias all point to their having descended southwards from the Abujhmar hills to colonize their present country, and the presence in their midst of ruined Hindu cities at Dantewara, Barsur, and Bhairamgarh, of traces of forgotten kingdoms at Tirathgarh and Kakonda, and of isolated villages of Jhari Telangas descended from the subjects of early medieval Telugu kings, point to the truth of the traditions. We have seen how new clans are forming to-day on the southern fringes of the Abujhmar hills, and how the Bison-horn culture is gradually absorbing the southernmost Hill Maria clans, which have, however, not fitted themselves fully as yet into the five-phratry organization, but retain their own clan-gods. The five phratries are named after five principal clans,

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

the names of which recur not only among Murias in north Bastar, but also among all the Gonds of the Central Provinces. Possibly strong bodies of these clans were the original colonizers, and with the growth of population in their new surroundings have either thrown off sub-clans or absorbed clans newly descending from the hills or acquiring their culture. It is not surprising that settlers in the tracts farthest from their first settlement should find it difficult to worship at the original shrines of their *pen*, and should either forget them, or here and there make fresh log-gods for themselves, perhaps sharing them with other adjacent clans not necessarily of their own phratries, just as they have learnt, unlike the Hill Marias, to share with other brother-clans and wife-clans village lands which are the *bhum* of their own clan.

The cult of the *pen* log-god of the clan is thus, as may be expected, considerably weaker among the Bison-horn than among the Hill Marias. Often he is neglected almost entirely in the annual feasts, or vaguely associated with the Departed in the expressions *pen-hanal* or *dhumo-deo* used of the ancestors. Where there is a log-god, he tends to be regarded merely as one of the local godlings that are becoming as numerous among the Bison-horn Marias as among the Gonds of the Central Provinces. Where there is none, occasionally at festivals before the Village Mother or other manifestations of the Earth a stone or two may be set up in his name under a *saja* tree and receive its share of the sacrificial blood and libations. It is not surprising that, therefore, the *waddai* of the clan-god is more purely a medium among the Bison-horn Marias, and less of a clan-priest than he is among the Hill Marias, and that most Bison-horn villages have at least one *waddai* who may be possessed not only by the clan-god but by other godlings also; even when he is attached definitely to a log-god at a festival, he may be possessed by him and give oracle on his behalf, but the *perma* of the village is the principal celebrant, and the *waddai*, when not possessed, degenerates into a mere *mantram*-reciting assistant of the *perma*.

Often there is no hut-temple for any deity among the Bison-horn Marias except one for Danteshwari Mai or Maoli or Mata, whose cults have spread from the Hindu temple of Dantewara, and in time will reach every village of Bastar. The Earth cult, however, remains, as among the Hill Marias, the essential cult. Its chief form is thus the cult of the Village Mother, called Tallin Ochur in the Bison-horn dialect. For all the village ceremonies there is a fixed plot of land in a field belonging to the *perma* and known as the *bhum-jaga*, *hadri-bera* or *wijj-erku*: *bhum-jaga*

The Village Mother and other gods among the Bison-horn Murias

1: Grigson G-5 (192?-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

The only writers who seem to have touched on the social organization of the Bastar Marias before are Russell and Hiralal, who said (III, pp. 64-6) :— 114 614

Russell and Hiralal, on the social organization of the Bastar Marias

'The Gond rules of exogamy appear to preserve traces of the system found in Australia, by which the whole tribe is split into two or four main divisions, and every man in one or two of them must marry a woman in the other one or two. . . .

'Among the Gonds, however, the subdivision into small exogamous sects has been also carried out, and the class system, if the surmise that it once existed be correct, remains only in the form of a survival, prohibiting marriage between agnates, like an ordinary sept. In one part of Bastar all the septs of the Maria Gonds are divided into two great classes. There are ninety septs in A Class and sixty-nine in B Class, though the list may be incomplete. All the septs in A Class say that they are Bhaiband or Dadabhai to each other, that is in the relation of brothers, or cousins being the sons of brothers. No man of Class A can marry a woman of any sept in Class A. The septs of Class A stand in the relation of Mamabhai or Akomama to those of Class B. Mamabhai means a maternal uncle's son, and Akomama apparently signifies having the same maternal grandfather. Any man of a sept in Class A can marry any woman of a sept in Class B. It will thus be seen that the smaller septs seem to serve no purpose for regulating marriage, and are no more than family names. The tribe might just as well be divided into two great exogamous clans only. Marriage is prohibited between persons related only through males; but according to the exogamous arrangement there is no other prohibition, and a man could marry any maternal relative. Separate rules, however, prohibit his marriage with certain female relatives, and these will be given subsequently (ibid., p. 72). It is possible that the small septs may serve some purpose which has not been elicited, though the inquiry made by Rai Bahadur Panda Baijnath[1] was most careful and painstaking.

'In another part of Bastar there were found to be five classes, and each class had a small number of septs in it. The people who supplied this information could not give the names of many septs. Thus Class A had six septs,[2] Class B five, Classes C and D one each, Class E four, and Class F two. A man could not marry a woman of any sept belonging to his own class. 114 615

'The Muria Gonds of Bastar have a few large exogamous septs or clans named in Hindi after animals, and each of these clans contains several subsepts with Gondi names. Thus the *Bakaravans* or Goat race contains the Garde, Kunjami, Karrami and Vadde septs. The *Kachhimvans* or Tortoise race has the Netami, Kawachi, Usendi and Tekami septs. The *Nagvans* or Cobra race includes the Maravi, Potari, Karanga, Nurethi, Dhurwa and others. Other exogamous races are the Sodi (or tiger), Behainsa (buffalo), Netam (dog in Gondi), Chamchidai (bat) and one or two more. In this case the exogamous clans with Hindi names would appear to be a late division, and have perhaps been adopted because the meaning of the old Gondi names had been forgotten, or the septs were too numerous to be remembered.'

As will be seen in this chapter, the part of Bastar where five 'classes' were found was presumably the Bison-horn country and its cultural extension, the Dorla country, where there are definitely five phratries each containing varying numbers of clans. The tract in which, according to Rai Bahadur Panda Baijnath's enquiry, the 114 618

[1] Diwan of Bastar for many years.

[2] Six classes, A to F, are given, though the text speaks of five, the actual number among both Bison-horn Marias and Dorlas. But so few 'septs' are mentioned, nineteen as compared to the fifty in my list of phratries, that the enquiry must have been incomplete.

[See cat. 116, p. 824. — Analyst]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

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The theory of two moieties therefore completely breaks down, and it is obvious that we are confronted by something approaching phratries. The Bison-horn Marias call their groups *kutmam* or *tarr* and their clans *katta*; but the Hill Marias know neither of the two former words, and, though some towards the south of the hills understand *katta*, they use the word *pari* that is in vogue for this purpose among all the Central Provinces Gonds. It is possible that they have some word for groups of clans, but I was unsuccessful in trying to get at it. They have some conception, however, of groups. The Usendi, Wadder, Katlami and Jaterom consider themselves brothers; Wikir Hunga, the god of the Usendis and Wadder, is a younger brother of Pat Raja, god of the Jaterom, and Pandu Hunga, god of the Katlamis, is the next brother after Wikir Hunga and has a Jate *waddai*; the Deda clan of Kurmer may also belong to the group, as its god Nule Harma is the youngest brother of Pat Raja. To the group would also belong the smaller clans of the Chhota Dongar *pargana* that are *dadabhai* to the Usendi, the Korami, Dodi, Deda and Parsal. Similarly the Jugho (*alias* Karme) clan says that the Dhurwa clan is its elder and the Dolwar clan its younger brother; their marriages are all consistent with membership of the same group, which possibly also includes the other Chhota Dongar clans of the list not mentioned above as *dadabhai* to the Usendi group, and the Yete clan of Kutru; all these are definitely *dadabhai* to the Jughalor. The Bardal, Farsal, Gotal, Nughoti, Tapa and Hichami clans of the north appear to be a group, to which would be added the Dughalor and Karangalor had they not become Murias and decided to discontinue the give and take of daughters in marriage with the Hill Marias. Of the grouping of the Kutru clans it is difficult to speak; but judging from marriages the Parllo, Jata, Kohka and Ark clans are a group of *dadabhai*, and *akomama* to another group consisting of the Boter, Wachami, Mohanda, Oyami, Mohke, and Pungati. The former group appears to be *dadabhai* to the Usendi group, and to be differentiated from it only by the fact that its members live in the Kutru zamindari, while the Usendi group is practically confined to the Antagarh tahsil. In Mangnar there is definitely a Jaterom-Tokalor-Hukur group, while the Marvi may belong to the same group as the Marvi phratry of the Bison-horn Marias and may include the small Alami and Nonde clans of Mangnar. The Gumelor of Barsur Mar seem to be in a group of their own so far as most of the Hill clans are concerned. The chief clans ungrouped in this tentative grouping are the Padal of Padalibhum and the Jati of Jatwara; both possibly come into the great Jughalor group.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

615 618

It should be clear from what has been said that these groups or phratries are not proved, but are a hypothesis that does explain observed facts, which cannot possibly be squared with the theory of two moieties. That theory is the less likely when it is remembered that amongst all the Gonds of the Central Provinces it is usual to find phratries, whether the simple totem-phratries of the Bison-horn Marias of Bastar or the three-god, four-god, five-god, six-god and seven-god phratries of the Chanda, Nagpur and Chhindwara districts. Russell and Hiralal have already been quoted as saying that there are similar totem phratries among the Murias. But one must not necessarily expect to find the same number (five) of phratries among the Hill Marias; they perhaps are not conscious of having any phratries at all, and the groups are only the result of proximity and convenience, tempered by the accidents of the political geography of the hill country. There are no signs at all of totems for these suppositious groups, like those shown in the list of Bison-horn clans, and existing among the Murias; the Usendi will not eat or keep goats, and the Parllo, though they tend goats for Telis, will not eat them or drink their milk. The Kohkalor will not touch or fell the marking-nut tree (*kohka-marra*; *Semecarpus anacardium*) or its fruits. The Yete are called after the crab (*yete*), but they eat crabs. The Neghal are called after the panther (*neghal*), but the reason seems to be that when they founded their village a panther was killed at the entrance to it, the panther now commemorated by three stones (see page 154). The Alami have the *alam* or chameleon as totem, and salaam gravely any chameleon they may meet. But the reverence paid by the Jaterom to the brooms of *jate* grass used to sweep their god's shrine and by the Hukur to the ladle that they use to dole out the sacrificial rice cooked at the same shrine are acts akin to the annual worship paid by all Hindu artisans to the tools of their craft. The other things mentioned in the totem column in the list of hill clans in the appendix are not totems, but explanations of the origins of the names of the clans concerned. It is thus clear that traces of totemism among the Hill Marias are very slight, and affect individual clans, not groups. There is no connexion at all between totemism and the taboos, nor does it figure in the cult of the clan-god.

It was suggested on page 205 that the five major clans from which the five Bison-horn phratries take their names might have originated from the migration of strong bodies of each of those clans from the Abujhmar hills, in the same way that even now bodies of clans like the Jughalor and the Gumelor are beginning to occupy deserted lands of forgotten or dwindling clans in Bhairamgarh Mar, and that each of these five major clans split up into smaller clans,

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison Horn Maria

each new clan, however, retaining to some extent its membership of the original clan, the name of which became the generic name for it and its daughter-clans. The process can be seen at work in the hills; the Tokalor and Hukur have clearly split off from the Jaterom, while the Usendi group must at some time have split away from the Jaterom, as their clan-gods are the younger brothers of the Jaterom god Pat Raja, and the Katlami god Pandu Hunga, the eldest of these younger brothers, is served by a Jate *waddai* (clan-priest). It does look as though there may have been an original two-moiety system, which has expanded into a group system merely because as colonization proceeded strict adherence to the rule of taking a wife from the other moiety proved impossible owing to distances and bad communications. For the emigrant clans who colonized the Bison-horn country, which could support a far larger population than the hills, it would be particularly necessary to allow a wider range of choice than possible under two-moiety exogamy. This is secured if a man in phratry A can take a wife from phratry B, C, D or E.

Bison-horn phratries and clans

So we have the phatry and clan organization of the Bison-horn Marias. The list in Appendix II shows nine clans in the Marvi phratry, ten in the Kuhrami, three in the Sodi, twenty-one in the Markami and eight in the Kawasi, fifty-one altogether, as compared with the nineteen of Russell and Hiralal. The list mentions six other clans whose phratry I did not ascertain. Like the Muria phratries mentioned by Russell and Hiralal, these phratries are often described as the *bans*, a Hindi word for race, of their totems; the Marvi phratry in most of the Bison-horn country is the *Bakrabans* or Goat race, and in Sukma and the south the *Naguans* or Cobra race; the Kuhrami phratry is the *Kadiaribans* or Cuckoo race; the Sodi phratry is the *Baghbans* or Tiger race; and both the Markami and the Kawasi phratries are *Kachhimans* or Tortoise races. Almost exactly the same phratries with the same subordinate clans are found among the Dorla Koitor of the south; but they have other names for the phratries, called after the *yelopi* or *valpu* god of the phratry, only one of whom, Perambhoi, after whom the phratry corresponding to the Bison-horn Kuhrami or Cuckoo race is called, is even known to the Bison-horn Marias.

There are certain peculiarities. Although clans belong to a phratry with a certain totem, they sometimes have either no totem or a totem of their own, which may be the same as the totem of one of the other phratries, or one peculiar to itself. The Hemla clan of the Marvi or Goat phratry has the tortoise as totem; the Kalmu clan of the Markami Tortoise race has the goat as totem; and the

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

615 618 Poriami clan of the Kuhrami or Cuckoo phratry has the buffalo, which has supplanted the tiger as the totem of the Sodi or Tiger phratry, since tigers so far forgot themselves as to kill and eat some men of the phratry. In the Cuckoo phratry two clans, the Kartami and the Kuhrami (which gives its name to the phratry), have the *karot* or hornbill as totem, while the Kunjami clan has the *kunje* or screech-owl. In all these cases it is the clan totem that matters, not the phratry totem; the Hemla clan will kill goat or cobra, the Kartami and Kuhrami the cuckoo, and the Kalmu the goat. Some clans have no totem of their own, but have no scruples about touching, killing or eating the totem of their phratry; examples are the Tamo clan in the Goat phratry, the Oika clan in the Tiger or Buffalo phratry, and the Birya or Big Markami, the Gonche, the Miriyami, the Nupo and the Tati clans in the Markami Tortoise race. Two conclusions follow. The first is that certain clans in the phratry, those with different totems, probably did not split off from the parent clan of the phratry, but were independent clans grouped into the phratry at a later stage, probably owing to contiguity. The second thing is that the association of the totemic animal or plant with phratries and clans is so far from universal and plays so small a part in the life of the whole tribe that it is either something new, borrowed from another culture, but not really assimilated, or else a relic of something that has decayed with antiquity. It is remarkable that the Birya or Big Markami clan should not have any scruples about the tortoise, the totem of the Markami or Tortoise phratry, while the Chudala or Small Markami clan is very particular about it. Yet it is only of the tortoise totem that there is any [773] legend; there is said long ago to have been a great flood, which the brothers Markam and Kawasi were unable to cross until a tortoise came and took them on its back.[1] Some, however, do go [784] out of their way to avoid touching or harming their totem, particularly the Kawasi Tortoise phratry; blindness is the punishment which eating the totem is said to involve. I was told by a Kawasi

[1] This legend of the origin of the tortoise totem is one of the very few traces (the only trace that I have met) among Bastar Marias of the Ramcharsa legend of the origin of the Gonds. In the version of this given in Trench's *Gondi Grammar*, Vol. II, all the ancestors of the Gonds were stopped on their way to worship the Great God by a great flood, 'whereupon in haste they plunged into the river, and one caught hold of a Tendu log, another a Sirras, another a palm tree, another a teak tree, another an iguana, another a tiger, thus each seizing something or other, they forded the river. Having crossed the river, they assembled near a Saj tree, and ate the new rice that ripens in hollows, and drank, and asked each other, "What did you catch hold of when you crossed?" They said, "I for my part seized a palm tree and forded on it, I a teak tree, and I a tiger." Addi-rawan-pariol says, "Then your *pari* will be the Palm tree, yours the Teak, and yours the Tiger." Thus *paris* were found for all of them

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

I was told by a Kawasi
informant that a bride coming from a clan with a different totem to a Kawasi household was made to eat her father's totem as a sign of abandoning that totem's race or clan; but I could never verify this. There is a definite ceremony for transferring a re-marrying widow from her first to her second husband's clan; but this has nothing to do with the totem.

There is nothing to prevent a man in the Markami Tortoise phratry taking a wife from the Kawasi Tortoise phratry. In fact, if totems were of real significance, it is hard to see why there should be these two mutually exogamous Tortoise phratries. Nor is there anything to bar them intermarrying with the Hemla Tortoise clan in the Goat phratry; the same applies to the Goat and Buffalo phratries and the Goat and Buffalo clans in other phratries.

Another point that suggests that the phratry has arisen as a convenience for enlarging the matrimonial field is that each village is regarded as the *bhum* (earth or soil) of the individual Bison-horn clan that first settled it, not of the phratry. To give a few examples, Massenar is the *bhum* of the Atrami clan, Lendra and Singwaram of the Barse clan, Mandimarka of the Dodi clan, Durandarbha and Gumadasaka of the Hemla clan, Dugheli and Pharaspal of the Kalmu clan, Birya Gudra, Etipal and Bhusaras of the Kartami clan, Berma and Karrigudem of the Kunjami clan, Kondasaoli, Komarguda, Kodmair, Ursangal, Tetam and Koriras of the Birya Marvi, Chudala Gudra, Tarlaguda and Banjepalli of the Chudala Marvi, Palnar, Phulpan and Singaram of the Vetti. Each clan thus has villages that are far apart; there is no contiguity of all the villages that are the *bhum* of one clan, and therefore no compact clan-area as in the Abujhmar hills. Nor is there any phratry area; five contiguous villages may easily be the *bhum* of five clans each belonging to a different phratry. Even in the villages that are the *bhum* of one clan it is quite possible that the *perma* may be the only member of the clan in the village, and in every village there are settlements of all the clans with which the founder clan has intermarried, each clan that is big enough being allotted a separate quarter in the village for its houses, and clans of which there are only one or two representatives perhaps sharing a quarter with other clans of their phratry. Only a *perma* of the founder clan can mediate between the villagers and the Earth and Village Mother; and if that clan has retained its own clan-god, little heed is paid to the clan-god of the phratry or the parent-clan of the phratry. At the sacrifices to the Departed and the subsequent sacrificial meal at first-fruits ceremonies only the householder's *bhumkal* or fellow-clansmen may be present, not members of other clans in his phratry even. The division of the large Marvi, Markami and Sodi clans into

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

big and small clans of the same name is an old one, and, as the examples above show, the big and small clans have different villages as their *bhum*; the reality of their separation is further shown by such differences of custom as the Big Marvi clan making flat table-stones or *danya-kal* for their dead instead of the usual menhirs or *urashal* which the Small Marvi and all other clans except the Kuhrami erect for their dead, and as the different outlook of the Big and Small Markami to the tortoise totem of the Markami phratry.

Traditional origins of clan names

The chapter may be closed with examples of the traditional origins of certain Hill and Bison-horn Maria clan names, into which nothing totemic appears to intrude.

Gumalov	When their first village was founded the sky had become *gume* or overcast with clouds.
Gecha	The founder of the clan was a laggard or stay-behind (*gecha*).
Dolwar	Though Hill Marias, they make *dol* drums like the Bison-horn Marias.
Dhurwa	They walked in front of the clan-god like *dhurwas* preceding the Raja of Bastar in a procession.
Akkal	'Leafy': the founder was a great tree-climber.
Kallami	The 'borrow-pit' clan, diggers of borrow-pits for tank embankments.
Karma	The 'sunset' clan, because the founder was born at sunset (an alternative name for the Jughalor).
Kuhrami	The 'people of the mist' (*kuhra*), because on cold weather mornings they walk ahead of others to disperse the mist and heavy dew.

The examples are similar to those given by Russell and Hiralal (III, pp. 68-70) for the Gond clans of Betul District.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

615
618

BISON-HORN MARIA PHRATRIES AND CLANS

Phratry	Totem	Clans	Totem
1. Mārvi	Goat (Dantewara Jagdalpur) Cobra (Sukma and Konta)	Bārse	
		Biryā Mārvi	
		Chudalā Mārvi	
		Dōdi	
		Hēmlā	Tortoise
		Kuppē	
		Oyāmi	
		Pēdāmi	
		Tamo	
2. Kuhrāmi or Kadiāri	Cuckoo (*kadiāri*)	Budādi	
		Gaddi	
		Kartāmi	Hornbill (*karoi*)
		Kuhrāmi (or Karāmi)	Do.
		Kunjāmi	Screech-owl (*kunje-pille*)
		Lēkāmi	
		Poriāmi	Buffalo
		Rawa	
		Veko	
		Wetti	
[1]3. Sōdi or Ōdi	Tiger	Biryā Sōdi	Buffalo
		Chudalā Sōdi	Do.
		Oikā	
4. Markāmi	Tortoise	Atāmi (or Atrāmi)	*Aira*, the flower of the *phul-bahari* grass
		Bālē	
		Bōtē	
		Bhōyāmi	
		Biryā Markāmi	
		Chudalā Markāmi	
		Dudhi	
		Dumo	
		Durro	
		Gomche	
		Kalmu	Goat
		Karte (or Kandte)	
		Kikder	
		Miriyāmi	
		Nendi	
		Nupo	
		Poyāmi	Buffalo
		Tātī (or Tāmti)	
		Tēlāmi	
		Tikder	
		Undāmi	

[1] The tiger was the original totem, and the clan is still spoken of as the tiger-race; but the tigers have broken the legendary rule that no tiger will attack a Sōdi, and the Sōdis retaliate by joining in tiger-beats and adopting the buffalo as their totem instead of the tiger.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

615
618

Phratry	Totem	Clans	Totem
5. Kawāsi or Wanjāmi	Tortoise	Berṭā Dirdōd Kawāsi Muchāki Murāmi Padāmi Urve Wanjāmi	

The following six clan names have not been attributed to their phratries: Gonde, Kinke, Korsa, Punem, Rega, Savalam.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

541 656 Such iron knives or spurs as were tied on to the cock's legs were very small, and a Lahiri Maria criticized the usual theory that this way of increasing a cock's natural armament is cruel on the ground that if it meant a quicker death for the defeated cock it was merciful. All the headmen promised that if the ban on cock-fights were lifted they would frown on cash or grain betting, and, if we so desired, on the use of iron spurs and knives. Thoughtless officiousness such as that which stopped this favourite tribal pastime is only too typical of the lack of imagination with which officials, great and small, are apt to interfere with all that lends colour to aboriginal life.

615 618 114 Lahiri was one of the chief camps where I questioned the local Marias as to their clan organization, particularly the grouping of clans into phratries according to the number of *Chuddur penk* or Little Gods. I mentioned on pages 194-5 my doubts as to the traditional accounts of this god-grouping among the Chanda Marias. But these accounts go back to Lucie-Smith's 1869 Chanda Settlement Report. A somewhat confusing summary of his account, on page 101 of the *Gazetteer*, seems to imply that there is little difference between the god-grouping of the Raj-Gond, the other Gond tribes of Chanda. Lucie-Smith divided the Raj-Gonds into a four-god group, with the tortoise and crocodile totems, a five-god group with the iguana totem, a six-god group with the tiger totem, and a seven-god group with the porcupine totem: these groups were divided into what the *Gazetteer* calls 'houses or families, distinguished by their family name or *padi*', i.e. into what in this book have been called clans (*pari*), which numbered 28 among the Raj-Gonds, 24 among the Marias and 17 among the Dhurve Gond. Russell and Hiralal (Vol. III, p. 66) say that in Chanda :—

> 'There are four main groups worshipping seven, six, five and four gods respectively, and each group contains ten to fifteen septs. A man cannot marry a woman of any sept which worships the same number of gods as himself. Each group has a sacred animal which the members revere, that of the seven-god worshippers being a porcupine, of the six-god worshippers, a tiger, of the five-god worshippers, the *saras* crane, and of the four-god worshippers, a tortoise. As a rule the members of the different groups do not know the names of their gods, and in practice it is doubtful whether they restrict themselves to the proper number of gods of their own group. Formerly there were three-, two-, and one-god worshippers, but in each of these classes it is said that there were only one or two septs, and they found that they were much inconvenienced by the paucity of their numbers, perhaps for the purposes of communal worship and feasting, and hence they got themselves enrolled in the larger groups. In reality it would appear that the classification according to the number of gods worshipped is being forgotten and the three lowest groups have disappeared.'

They suggested that this conjecture was supported by the fact that in Chhindwara and other localities only two large six-god and seven-god groups remained.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

615 ●
618
114

The accounts over-simplify scattered data collected without concentrated field-enquiry. Even the *Gazetteer*, in a footnote to the passage quoted above from page 101, speaks of a group of three-god Marias having lately been verified in Lahiri. Shoobert[1] quotes the late Bishop Wood as having verified the existence of a group of three-god Marias in the Chanda villages of Lahiri and Beni-Gunda near the Bastar border of Chanda district, and enquiries which the Bishop had made for me in 1929 by the Rev. S. G. Patwardhan, the well-known Indian missionary priest of the Scottish Episcopal Church Mission at Ahiri, went further, as indicated on page 195, and established definitely that the Chanda Marias of Bidri, Yemla, Burgi,[2] Uddera and Kandodi had one three-god clan, six four-god, eight five-god, eight six-god and eight seven-god clans (31 clans against Lucie-Smith's 24). Russell and Hiralal are wrong even of Chhindwara district, where I verified some three-god clans (as in Nagpur district) and even a one-god and a no-god clan. Baron C. von Fürer-Haimendorf's forthcoming book on the Raj-Gonds of the Adilabad plateaux of Hyderabad will deal exhaustively with the god-grouping[3] of the Adilabad Gonds, whose social system is based on a system of four phratries (*saga*), the seven-god, six-god, five-god and four-god phratries. His conclusions there have been to some extent foreshadowed in his interesting article 'The Cult of the Clan Gods among the Raj-Gonds of Hyderabad', published in *Man in India*, Vol. XXV, 1945, pages 149-86. His field-work has been far more detailed and closer than any previous work among Raj-Gonds, and the whole body of myths which he has recorded as to these phratries or god-groups throws altogether new light on the origins and facts of Gond social organization. It badly needs to be supplemented rapidly by similar enquiries among all the sections of the Gonds not only in Chanda district, but also in all the Central Provinces and Berar districts and States where this god-grouping still persists. One is apt to assume that it is dying out or deteriorating rapidly in areas formerly known as British India, in contrast to areas such as Adilabad, which has never been under British rule, and has been till recently free from the detribalizing, hinduizing work of the schoolmaster, or as most of the Chanda Maria country. But the difference may be rather that the Gond of the more

[1] *Central Provinces and Berar Census Report*, 1931, p. 334.

[2] I checked this at Burgi (*Ordnance Survey of India*, Sheet 65A, ref. MV3842) and discussed the whole question with Rev. Patwardhan at Ahiri: the 31 clans may be far from exhaustive.

[3] Haimendorf prefers to speak of 'seven-brother', 'six-brother' phratries, holding that his Raj-Gonds speak of a classification by the number not so much of *penk* (gods) as of *Wenk*, an almost untranslatable term meaning 'heroes', or 'divine ancestors'.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

615 618 114 174 60 618

advanced' areas further north, faced by Brahman ridicule of his culture, has more and more withdrawn into his shell and learnt to conceal the more intimate features of his tribal religion and culture.

Until we have before us the records of such systematized and widespread field-work it is impossible to form any reliable general theory of the origin of this god-grouping. My tentative view, so far as the Chanda Marias are concerned, for what it is worth, is that the god-grouping is a comparatively recent importation from their northern and western Gond (especially Raj-Gond) neighbours. As I have pointed out on pages 194-5, the Bastar Marias and Murias have neither god-grouping nor *chuddur penk*. I added that none of the Chanda Marias who had come to my camps in Bastar had these institutions. This may appear inconsistent with the definite proof of the existence at least of god-grouping among the Chanda Marias, as recorded from Lucie-Smith's time onwards, and verified by Bishop Wood and Rev. Patwardhan and in this tour of mine. But here again one must distinguish between the Chanda Marias of the hills above Lahiri and those of the plains and foothills. Those who came to my Bastar camps were all Chanda Hill Marias: those among whom god-grouping was verified were plains Marias. I camped for four days at Kuvakodi, a hill village high above Lahiri, and visited other hill villages close by both in Chanda and in Bastar. The Chanda Hill Marias are identical in culture with the Bastar Hill Marias, and like them had, at least at Christmas 1940, no god-grouping and no *chuddur penk*. The Hill Marias of Chanda in fact appear to be what the *Gazetteer*[1] describes as the Gaita sub-tribe of Gonds, and the speakers of the dialect referred to by it[2] and in the *Linguistic Survey* as Gattu, the language of the 'Kois or Gonds of the hills, especially in Sironcha', who 'are known as Gattu or Gotte Kois'; for it speaks of the Gaita Gonds as being 'almost alone in retaining the old Gondi custom, once universal, of building their village in two long barracks lying east and west facing each other about eighty feet apart' in which the married people dwell, while the bachelors, and in some villages unmarried girls also, have separate barracks. This description clearly fits the Hill Marias of Kuvakodi and adjacent hill villages, as it would do the villages of the neighbouring Hill Maria *parganas* of Bastar.

So we start with these, the most primitive of the Marias of Chanda, and find among them no trace of god-grouping or *chuddur penk*. Down the hill we come to Lahiri, and we find god-grouping (which, however, includes a three-god group absent among the Chanda and Adilabad Raj-Gonds), but, so far as I could ascertain, no *chuddur*

[1] *Chanda District Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 97, 98.
[2] Ibidem, p. 73.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

penk corresponding in number to the number of gods of the god-group, and apparently no domestic cult except of the Departed. As you go northwards beyond Surjagarh or north-westwards towards Chand the Marias begin to understand the meaning of god-grouping and of *chuddur penk*, but even there seemed to me—admittedly my enquiries were superficial—to have no such vital interest in these things as a typical Raj-Gond or Dhurve Gond. This would be explicable on a theory that this god-grouping was something gradually imposed, not necessarily deliberately, but by infiltration and imitation, by the Gonds of the ruling house of Chanda and the aristocratic Gond zamindars, under the feudal system grouped about the Chanda Maharaja, upon the whole 'Maria' substratum of the Gonds of Chanda. The Marias probably represent one or two early waves of Gond migration southwards or, at least the Hill Marias, an earlier pre-Gond race with Veddid, Malid or Munda affinities.[1] There are differences between Chanda Hill Maria and plains Maria speech, the former being as guttural as Bastar Hill Maria; but all Chand Marias speak a form of Gondi very different from the Gondi of the Raj and Dhruve Gonds of Chanda, which would support the view that the latter represent different waves of migration, later moreover in view of their very advanced social and political organization and their aristocratic elements: compare also the position of the Pardhan bards and musicians in Raj-Gond life with their rarity in Maria villages. It is probable also that the ancestors of many who now are called Raj-Gonds a few generations back were Maria. The *Gazetteer*[2] mentions that though Marias do not now (1909) intermarry with Raj-Gonds, the records of the Ahiri family show that they once did so. The very term Raj-Gond in my view, as expressed on page 36, arose from the process still common whereby as sections of aboriginal tribes became Hinduized or acquired political power they distinguish themselves from the main body of their original tribe, so as to fit into the caste system. There can be little doubt that as the Raj-Gond kingdom of Chanda grew in power leading local Gond or Maria headmen or elders who fitted into the social organization of the kingdom came to be regarded as Raj-Gond: compare also the discussion earlier in this Note[3] of the meaning of the term 'Maria' and its disappearance in Drug district terminology in very recent times.[4] What, therefore, could be more

[1] Comparable with, for example, the Kolams of Hyderabad and Berar, or the Hill Reddis of Hyderabad, Madras and Orissa. The late Bishop Wood on hearing Bastar Marias talk said that to him it sounded like Gondi spoken with Mandari accent and intonation. See also R. C. Roy on pp. 317-18.
[2] *Chanda District Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1909) p. 101
[3] P. 377.
[4] P. 378.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

natural than for the backward Marias aspiring to raise themselves to Raj-Gond status to copy gradually the Raj-Gond social organization? It is equally possible that *pari passu* the Raj-Gond ruler and nobles encouraged this: in all these semi-feudal, semi-tribal states and sub-states, as to this day in the States and zamindaris of Chhattisgarh and Orissa, the Maharajah of the State or the Rajah of the zamindari remains the final arbiter in caste matters, even often conferring the right to wear the sacred thread on communities actively hinduizing themselves. At Surjagarh and Jarawandi camps, various *Sendhias* and headmen practically admitted to me that god-grouping was not originally a Maria institution.[1]

From Lahiri there was a long climb of thirteen miles to the Hill Maria village of Kuvakodi, when we halted for four days, including Christmas Day. The trace led at first up the valley of the Lahiri river, then up the side valley of a small tributary, and so by an exceptionally steep ascent on to an undulating plateau, across which we reached Kuvakodi at dusk, our camp equipment all being carried on poles by Marias, whom on arrival we rewarded not only in cash but, in Bastar fashion, with salt and beads, and a feast of pork: the Marias sat ranged by clan and village, and those who killed and cooked the pork distributed to every man and child, and to the women of Kuvakodi, a portion of the meat off each joint of the pig. On the way up a slight detour took us through the small village of Gudumundi, and from Kuvakodi we visited Podewara and the Bastar village of Nelangari, some five miles from our camp.

Each day started with a parade of yaws patients for inoculation, all from Chanda villages: the Bastar Marias, who came in to see me and to join in the dancing each evening, looked tolerantly on, having themselves long before had the benefit of the Bastar anti-yaws parties.

The whole cultivation system of the Chanda Hill Marias is identical with the Bastar system described in Chapter VII of this book: it is, that is to say, *penda* cultivation and not what is generally known in the Central Provinces as *dahi*, or its Chanda plains variations of *khamori*, *jalapod*, *podu* or *sampod* (these terms will be explained later in this Note). There is the same broadcast sowing on the same kind of clearings of seed of all the minor millets and beans. The

[1] Hasmendorf in reviewing Shamrao Hivale's *The Pardhans of the Upper Narbada Valley* has pointed out that the fact that the Pardhans' clan organization is everywhere based on that of the local Gond, does not disprove the different origin of the two peoples, for there are many examples of other tribes adopting their Gond neighbours' system of phratries and clans. He instances from Chanda district and Hyderabad State not only the aboriginal castes as certain Maratha blacksmiths and brass-workers who have the same clan names as the Gonds, *Man in India*, Vol. XXVI, 1946, p. 231. Compare also the Kurak fishing tribe in Bastar, pp. 163-4.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

614 menhirs erected. This belief in the clan-*bhum*, whether original or adopted as a result of immigration and settlement, is still sufficiently alive to excite serious quarrels. It was a dispute over the rights to a clan-*bhum* that began the deadly feud between the sorcerer Singlu and the people of Almer.[1] Most of the inhabitants of Almer belong to the Kaudo clan (which has its *pen-rawar* at Kharkagaon) and they consider that the place is Kaudo-*bhum* since they first settled there. But Singlu is a Karanga: One day he said to the Kaudo priest, 'Let me erect memorial stones in your village; then my ancestors will live here and will help me and my family'. But the priest pointed out that the headquarters of the Karanga clan was at Kokori. 'If you bring your ancestors to this village, our gods will be neglected,' he said and refused to give him any *bhum*.

There was a similar conflict at Bandopal. The *bhum* here also belongs to the Kaudo clan which has erected a number of menhirs. Members of the Gaude clan, which stands in the *akomāma* relationship to the Kaudo, demanded a share of the *bhum*, probably because it was more convenient for them than to go to Kharkagaon. After many quarrels and a long dispute, the Kaudo people agreed to let the Gaude clan erect its menhirs within their *bhum* territory, and they even made a Gaude Gaita assistant to the chief Kaudo Bhum-Gaita (priest of the soil). But many of the Kaudo clansmen objected to this and stopped erecting menhirs at Bandopal, going instead to Kharkagaon (where indeed they ought always to have gone). In the end the Gaude people decided to give up erecting menhirs at all because of the expense, and gave back the land to the Kaudo clan.

● 615 The clans fall roughly into five phratries, which are generally called by the Hindi word for 'race', *vans*. There is the Nagvans or Serpent Race, which includes a number of brother-clans, most of which have the cobra as their totem and cannot marry among themselves; the Kachhimvans or the Tortoise Race, the Bakravans or the Goat Race, the Baghvans or the Tiger Race and the Bodminkvans or the Fish Race.

All the clans within one phratry are *dādābhai*, or brothers, to one another, and all the members of each clan are *dādābhai* to each other. The word used to describe the relation of a clan into which you can marry your daughter is *akomāma*, a combination of the words *ako*, which means a man's mother's father, daughter's son and daughter's daughter (all of whom will belong to a different clan in a different phratry) and *māma*, which means a man's mother's brother, his father-in-law and his wife's brother's son (who will again, of course, be members of different clans).

[582 835] A chelik or motiari, therefore, who is seeking either amorous adventure or permanent domestic relationship, has to turn to members of the *akomāma* clans. Fortunately, owing to the wide distribution of the population, there are nearly always members of such clans in one's own ghotul or near at hand.

614 Before going on to describe the origin of the clans and the special rules that govern them, I will give in tabulated form a list of clans with their totems. It is not worth while adding to this an account of the *bhum* territory as this is too scattered and disorganized; the same is true of the clan-gods and *pen-rawar*.

[615] It will be noticed that in addition to the phratry totem each clan has its own totem which is sometimes different. The Sori clan has three different totems.

[1] See p. 204.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBE

CLAN	TOTEM	CLAN	TOTEM
The Nag (Cobra) Phratry			
Buyi	Bullock	Maravi	Goat
Dhurwa	Goat	Kassi Maravi	Kassi tree
Duga	Cobra	Etikal Maravi	She-goat
Kalo	Cobra	Nei Nuroti	Dog
Karanga	Wild buffalo	Nuroti	Cobra
Kaudo	Goat and horse	Partabi	Goat
The Kachhim (Tortoise) Phratry			
Kawachi	Tortoise	Parchapi	Tortoise
Komra	Tortoise	Poyami	Tortoise
Markami	Tortoise	Tekami	Tortoise
Naitami	Tortoise and dog		
The Bakra (Goat) Phratry			
Gaude	Goat	Ori	Goat
Karhami	Goat	Uika	Kassi tree
Komra	Goat	Wadde	Goat and kassi tree
Kunjami	Goat		
The Bagh (Tiger) Phratry			
Sori	Tiger, buffalo and bod fish		
Wadder	Buffalo		
The Bodmink (Fish) Phratry			
Halami	Bod fish	Kuhrami	Kassi tree
Hurpundi	Bod fish	Kumoti	Kumot bird
Kachlami	Kassi tree	Usendi [1]	Usi bird

I have somewhat arbitrarily divided the clans into these five phratries, though we must not suppose that this is how the Muria usually thinks of them. In each area he is only concerned with the relatively small number of clans in his own neighbourhood. When Dhanuram, my Usendi assistant from north-west Narayanpur, went to Kondagaon Tahsil, the Kuhrami and other related clans did not recognize him as one of themselves, for they had never heard of the Usendi—which is a great clan of the Abujhmar and north-west Bastar.

[1] Russell and Hiralal put the Usendi clan in the Kachhimvans. Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 65.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

There are other clans which I have not been able to fit into the scheme of phratries—the Hurra clan with its clan-god Lingo Mudial at Semurgaon, the Karati with its *bhum* at Phunder, the Vetti which has the lizard as its totem and the Kodovetti which has the mongoose. These, of course, fit into the scheme of *akomāma* and *dādābhai* relationships of their own neighbourhood.

FIG. 15. Decorated Muria knife
Length 1' 5"

There are not many songs about the clans. I give one Jhoria Pata from Sirpuri.

Those who kindle fire in the field
are boys of the Uika clan.
How strong the Uika boys are!
Those who make a hearth with brinjals from the Panara's house are boys of the Maravi clan.
Those who sit on a gate and call it a horse are boys of the Maravi clan.
How strong the Maravi boys are!
Those who build a hearth of pig's droppings are boys of the Halami clan.
Those who sit to clean their teeth with a twig are boys of the Halami clan.
How strong the Halami boys are!
Those who blow the buffalo horn are boys of the Halami clan.
Those who throw fine rice on the road are boys of the Halami clan.
How strong the Halami boys are!

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE CLANS

Many of the clans derive their origin from some historic journey in the course of which a river had to be crossed. Others have local and special reasons for their origin.

This legend of crossing a river is known throughout central India. Many Gond, Baiga and Agaria trace their clans and the attachment of those clans to certain totems from this.[1] In Muria mythology we are sometimes told

[1] Compare, for such tales in the Central Provinces alone, Russell and Hiralal, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 61ff.; Grigson, op. cit., p. 241; C. G. C. Trench, *Grammar of Gondi* (Madras, 1919), Vol. II, pp. 8ff.; Elwin, *The Agaria*, p. 75; M. P. Buradkar, 'Totemism among the Gonds', *Man in India*, Vol. XX (1940), pp. 120 and 277ff.; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. I, Part III B, p. 77 (the Gond emigrating from Phuljhar cross the Gondki river in flood).

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

closely connected with a certain *bhum* or clan-territory. Each *bhum* has its special headquarters where there should be the temple of the clan-god and the residence of the clan-priest. Here members of the clan should bring some token of their Dead and come to celebrate the great clan festivals. The clan-gods are known as Anga or Pen, and are of peculiar shape and character. They consist of three parallel logs attached to one another by cross-bars and decorated with silver bands and peacock feathers, the central log being carved into the rude likeness of a snake or bird. These gods are realistically imagined. They marry and have children; they move from place to place; they have a flair for detecting witches and other criminals. I do not know of any case where the Anga was used to track down a murder, but they are often employed to discover thefts and surprise the secrets of black magic.

The Bison-horn Maria are divided into a number of phratries and clans, resembling those of the Gond and other tribes. Grigson recorded five phratries, the Marvi, the Kuhrami, the Sori, the Markami and the Kawasi. Each of these is connected with a totem, the Marvi with the goat in some villages and the cobra in others, the Kuhrami with the cuckoo, the Sori with the tiger and the Markami and Kawasi with the tortoise. The subordinate clans, of which there are a large number—Grigson did not record quite all of them—are divided among these phratries and are regulated by the usual rule that regards all the clans of one phratry as related to one another and, therefore, barred from inter-marriages. As I have said, each clan has its special and separate *bhum* or territory, which should be its exclusive possession. But the neat and tidy arrangements of former days have broken down, and now not only are members of several different clans to be found in one village, but members of the clans are widely dispersed and it is often difficult for them even to visit their clan-god and make the proper sacrifices with the help of the clan-priest, the Waddai, or attend the special festivals for the clan-god.

The Maria year is enriched and diversified by a long series of agricultural and other festivals. At the beginning of the year falls the Bhimul Pandum held in honour of the traditional rain-giver of central India. There follows a ceremony